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THE

SOUTHERN STATES,

THEIR PRESENT PERIL,

AND

THEIR CERTAIN REMEDY.

WHY DO THEY NOT

RIGHT THEMSELVES?

AND SO FULFIL

THEIR GLORIOUS DESTINY.

[Townsend, John]

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(A.B.)

P R E F A C E.

THE citizens of St. John's, Colleton, having assembled at Rockville, on the 18th inst., for the purpose of obtaining from their candidates an expression of their opinions upon the question at issue, between the Southern and the Free-soil States; and the meeting having been organized, Mr. John Townsend arose and addressed them. The following being a brief abstract of his introductory address:

He admitted fully the right of the people to be made acquainted with the sentiments of the candidates; and the duty of the candidates to express their opinions without disguise or concealment, and in such a form as would be least likely to lead to misapprehension; and especially at a time, like this, when the state of the country was so full of difficulty and peril. He considered the liberties and political independence of the Southern States as being in greater danger at this time, than at any other period before or since the Declaration of Independence; and requiring from their citizens all their energies of mind, of heart and fortunes, to vindicate their rights. He regarded them as rapidly approaching the turning point of their destiny; and that the great epoch, from which they would hereafter have to date their history, was not very far off. Like the colonies of '76, in their relations to the mother country, so the Southern States would soon have to take their stand towards the Free-soil States of this Union. They cannot stand still as they are, and at the same time preserve their property and liberties as citizens, and their political independence as States. They are in a *transition* state, and every man begins to feel that a *great change* is about to take place in their political condition; which some lament over as a calamity, but all regard as an unavoidable necessity which must be met, and must be provided against.

He regretted to perceive that there was wanting, as yet, that *buoyant hopefulness*, that *undoubting confidence in a favourable result*, which is so necessary to success. *Vague and undefined apprehensions*, as to consequences, appear to perplex the minds of our people. This is but natural. It was so at the commencement of our revolution, in '76; and harrassed timid men, during the whole struggle. Great changes in the social and political condition of the people are

always serious things ; and even the boldest and most resolute men undertake them with caution. The *apathy*, then, which appeared to prevail in some of the Southern States, he did not believe to be owing to timidity or indifference to their wrongs ; but with some, to their not having duly reflected upon the *magnitude* of the *danger* with which we are threatened ; and with others, to the reluctance with which most men *begin* to redress their grievances ; or until they become intolerable. But from what cause soever, this apathy proceeded, he considered it highly injurious to the cause of Southern rights ; since it was both infectious, and discouraging to our friends ; and our enemies rejoiced over it, as an evidence of our weakness and timidity, which encouraged them to greater insult and aggression upon the South.

In view then, of this state of things, he expressed his intention to address his remarks to those points chiefly, which have relation to this aspect of the question. He would, therefore, not discuss at all the various measures of anti-slavery aggression, since he supposed that the minds of most Southern men were made up on those subjects. But taking up the question where our Legislature had left it off, and assuming, as they had declared, that upon these points "the argument had been exhausted,"—he would advance to the next stage in our progress ; and the "wrongs" having been already pointed out, proceed to consider the remedy, and the consequences which are likely to flow from that remedy.

He proceeded then to state, that on so grave and weighty a matter as the remedy for our wrongs, he did not consider it respectful to the citizens of the Parish, or prudent in himself, to address them, with only the aid of *brief notes*, since from his habits of retirement as a planter, residing almost entirely upon his plantation ; and from his having withdrawn himself from the political strifes of the times, for the last sixteen years, he was very unpractised in addressing large public assemblies. For these reasons, he preferred to present to the meeting, *in writing*, what it appeared suitable to him to address to them ; which course appeared to him, to be especially proper, on the present occasion,—since the sentiments of the candidates have been called for through the public prints, in a form suitable for publication, in order that every citizen, whether present, or absent, might have an opportunity of becoming fully acquainted with them. He then proceeded to read, to the assembly, the following Address.

ADDRESS.

It cannot fail to strike every man, who has turned his attention to the state of public sentiment at the South, in reference to our controversy with the free-soil States and the General Government, that there are two classes, (for I will not call them parties) at the South, who appear to entertain different views on this subject. These views, although they cannot be said to be opposite, nevertheless lead to very opposite results ;—the one to comparative inaction,—the other to timely and vigorous resistance. The former class, view the “Wilmot proviso,” as applied to California and the territories, and the other measures of anti-slavery aggression, which from time to time have been pressed upon us, in Congress,—as measures which begin, and *terminate in themselves* ; and although they regard them as wrong, as unjust, and unconstitutional, as nevertheless, so far removed in their effects upon our interests, as not to justify any serious alarm. They are therefore willing, to patch up a peace, by a *compromise* with our enemies.

The other class, on the other hand, view those measures, as parts of a *regular system* of operations,—the object, intention, and inevitable tendency of which, is,—to *abolish slavery entirely in the States*, and to degrade the South into a tribute-paying colony to the rest of the Union. Viewing then these measures in this light, they are prepared, and willing to meet the question *at once* ; and keep safe their citidel, by defending the outposts.

Both classes are very unanimously agreed to defend the citidel, when *that* is attacked, but unhappily, all at the South, do not see in these measures, the mighty evil which lurks behind them, and which threatens such fearful consequences, to our social and political life.

The first question then, for the people of the South to settle in their minds, is, the *reality* of this danger. For upon the settlement of this question, will depend their *union* ; and upon their union will depend their safety, their stability and their happiness ;—a safety certain, and undoubted ; a stability to their institutions, which they have never before possessed ; and a political happiness and prosperity, which they have heretofore never enjoyed, and which, owing to their favored position, it has rarely been the lot of any former people to attain unto.

The first thing then for us to consider, is, the *reality* of this danger: and this can be best understood, by taking a brief review of the progress of the anti-slavery spirit of aggression, within a few years past.

It is scarcely sixteen years since this dangerous subject began first to be meddled with in Congress. Previous to that time, it appeared to have been considered as a subject forbidden to that body; and as it was the sole concern, so under the exclusive control, of the people of the South.

About the year 1835, the anti-slavery party at the North, began to agitate Congress by an interference with our institutions: at which time, as we have been informed by Mr. Calhoun, "petitions poured in, calling upon Congress, to abolish slavery in the District of Columbia, and to prohibit what they called the internal slave trade between the States, announcing at the same time, that their ultimate object was, to abolish slavery not only in the District of Columbia, but *in the States and throughout the Union*."

Let it be here well noted,—that their ultimate object, as openly avowed by them, even at that time, was the *abolition of slavery in the States*: and that the other measures were urged upon Congress, as only the preliminary steps towards the attainment of that object.

Now, in all the measures which they have since pressed upon us, in proportion as they have been gaining strength, *that* has been their aim:—an aim, which we should be guilty of the grossest fatuity, if we ourselves lost sight of.

Fifteen years ago, the South was stronger in Congress, not only in her own numbers, but by the aid of all right-thinking men from the North. The anti-slavery party accordingly failed at that time to obtain a lodgement in Congress, by which to assail us from that position. The Senate of the United States adopted a rule, by which their petitions on the subject of slavery were virtually not received: and the House of Representatives another, by which, although such petitions were received, they were neither to be considered, printed, or referred.

This, however, did not discourage our enemies, but on the other hand, seemed to excite them to beat more vociferously at the doors of Congress to carry out their schemes. At every election at the North, and after every census, their strength increased;—whilst ours, by the loss of representation for two-fifths of our slaves, as well as from other causes, diminished; and our former adherents fell off. Under this state of things, our enemies boldly advanced upon us, in the number and magnitude of their aggressions; and began to extend the sphere of their operations.

They required of Congress, to abolish slavery in all the *ports and dock-yards* of the South; with a view to making them the retreats for absconding slaves, and the magazines of abolition

in the midst of our slave population. As the influence and power of that party extended at the North, (as it has done very rapidly,) they took possession of their own State Legislatures;—and these united with them in petitions and instructions to Congress, not only to promote the schemes just enumerated, but “to exclude the Southern States from all Territories acquired, or to be acquired, and to prevent the admission of any State hereafter into the Union, which by its constitution does not prohibit slavery. And Congress is invoked to do all this, as Mr. Calhoun has given us warnings, “expressly with the view to the final *abolition of slavery in the States.*” That has been avowed to be the ultimate object from the beginning of the agitation until the present: And yet the great body of both parties at the North, with the full knowledge of the fact, have co-operated with them in almost all their measures.”

With such objects known and avowed, it might be supposed, that Congress, under the restraints which are imposed upon it by the constitution for the security of our institutions, would have interposed a barrier against schemes of aggression, which so plainly violate our rights, and jeopard our safety. But this has not been so. The rule which excluded from Congress the dangerous schemes of these misguided men has been for several years abolished in the House of Representatives; and the Senate, at the present session, has also been compelled to give way before the encroaching spirit of this ferocious party. The halls of Congress,—that common council-room for the South, as well as the North, is now taken possession of by them; and instead of that comity which is due to the Southern States, as *equals* in the confederacy, their representatives have been openly insulted, by resolutions solemnly adopted, denouncing our institutions; and the sovereign States themselves, which they represent, begin to be regarded, in the arrogance of irresponsible power, as having no rights, except such as may be vouchsafed to them by sufferance. In the House of Representatives, by a vote which embraced almost, if not every representative from the North, it has been with all due formality declared to us, “that slavery is infamous.” And in the Senate, it has been announced, by a grave Senator, who represents the views of that party, that their object in excluding us from the territories, is, “that slavery might be localized and discouraged.” In other words, the Southern States are not to be permitted to expand and improve their condition, but are to be walled up, within their present limits. By which process, according to the notions of humanity, entertained by the philanthropists, who have taken us under their care, the masters and their slaves will be so crowded together, upon the soil which they now occupy, that in the progress of a few years, there must ensue a struggle for subsistence, or for ascendancy between the

races, which will terminate in the annihilation of one, or both of them. This scheme of *self-destruction*,—this species of political suicide, is the mildest form, and the slowest process, by which our enemies propose to abolish slavery among us. It is the plan universally approved of, by those who call themselves our “friends” at the North. And even Mr. Webster, who may be considered the soberest among them (in opinions at least,) has announced it as their settled policy, “that no more slave States are to be admitted into this Union,” beyond the present slave territory of Texas; thus looking to the process just stated, for the final extinguishment of slavery among us.

This, be it remembered, is the *mildest* form;—the plan of our “friends” so called; and who are so ready, in our wars in Congress, on that question, to step in with their “compromises,” between us, and the most virulent of our foes, to sooth us and them by temporary expedients. But there is another class at the North,—the fanatics in religion;—the fanatics in politics;—the demagogues of all parties, hunting for their prey of office or power, who are aiming at the abolition of slavery in the States, by a plan more speedy, direct and summary. The South, according to the tactics of these men, is to be “localized, and discouraged,” restricted to her present limits, and no slave State permitted again to enter the Union. On the other hand, every interest at the North, is to be fostered, expanded and encouraged, by all the patronage and wealth of the general government; and all the common territory reserved for the exclusive use and advantage of the citizens of that section. New States are to be laid out, multiplied and admitted into the Union; (as they will have the abundant power, in a short time, to do) without restraint, then follows the accomplishment of their scheme.

The “South localized and discouraged;”—the North fostered, expanded and multiplied, our enemies will soon have the requisite majority *under the Constitution*, to do by “right,” that is legally, and constitutionally, (if we remain united to them) whatever they may *will*, in regard to us;—and that will be, one of two things. First—Either to abolish slavery immediately, in the South, as is now the avowed purpose of both species of fanaticism, which is arrayed against us. Or, 2d.—If they allow us to keep our slaves, it will be on certain prescribed conditions, which they will impose upon us, as to our management of them, and upon the condition only, that the South, with her slaves, shall become the slaves of the North, to labour not for our own, but for their benefit. Whichever of these conditions may be vouchsafed to us by our enemies, will depend upon the struggle which will take place among themselves,—between their religious and political fanaticism on the one side, and their avarice and lust for power, on the other. But whatever may be their

decision, either alternative will be fatal to us, and our choice will be only that of the slave. Our condition, under the first, we shall notice presently; under the second, our condition will be the most abject and degraded, which has ever fallen to the lot of a subjugated people;—the prey of a merciless avarice, having not one sympathy with us, and which, from our pusillanimity, will have such good cause to spurn and despise us!!

Let no Southern man delude himself for a single moment, into the persuasion, that the measures which are preparing for us, in the councils of the anti-slavery party at the North, are limited to their own accomplishment;—and then! we are to have a final and lasting peace. The facts and considerations which have just been presented (independent of the bold and open avowal of our enemies) go to show that those measures are not only advancing upon us, in hostility, but that they are all advancing steadily, to one *common centre*, and that is, the *abolition of slavery in the whole South*;—*the abolition of slavery in every State*;—*the giving of freedom to his slaves, upon every man's own plantation!!*

That is the real danger, which we must prepare ourselves to guard against, in the measures of resistance which it becomes us to adopt. That is the mighty evil, which is threatened us by the anti-slavery influence at the North, and which stands as the grand *terminus* of all the roads, and schemes, and plans, which every class and party of that influence are pursuing in relation to slavery. Some may take a longer road than others, to reach the terminus: some may prefer a wider plan, in accomplishing the journey; whilst many may be disposed to pause for awhile, on the way, to amuse themselves, and as with “compromises,” whilst they are gathering fresh strength, the more certainly to attain their end. But all, all, no matter what road they may have taken, have their faces turned towards the same object; and whether they may be restrained by the constitutional scruples of Senator Webster, or by the scriptural teachings of President Stuart, considered as the extreme of the party, on the one side;—or whether they be driven on by the monomaniac phrenzy of rabid men, such as Garrison, and Giddings, Hall, Phillips or Tuck, as representing the other extreme of the party,—they have each, and all of them, their heads, their hearts, and their hands employed in the same common work, of *abolishing slavery in the States, and upon each plantation in each State.*

I reiterate this fact: because it is of the last importance, that it be kept before our eyes, and engraven upon our hearts. In the light of this truth, the soft spoken free-soiler is on a par with the most brawling and fanatic abolitionist: only that the former is the more to be dreaded; since with his flattering promises which he knows he cannot fulfil, and his plausible “compromises,”

which he knows are deceitful, he lulls us into security, and then stupifies us into non-resistance !

Such, then, being the mighty evil, which is preparing for us, sooner or later, in the councils of every party at the North, it may be useful to us, to give a glance, as we proceed, at the fearful consequences, which will befall us, if we do not avert it, by a timely and effectual resistance. The imagination sickens with disgust, and the heart swells with indignation, whilst contemplating these consequences.

Briefly, what are they ?

First.—The elevating of our slaves to a *political equality* with ourselves in the making of our laws, and in the government of the country ; which will soon be followed by the degradation, (as in the British and French West Indies)—of the claims of a vulgar and upstart race, to *social equality* with ourselves, and families, in all the domestic relations of life.

2d.—The overrunning of our country with swarms of an indolent, vicious, and unthrifty species of Lazoni, instead of the best agricultural population in the world such as we now have them.

3d.—As a consequence of their release from the control of their masters, the abandonment of the cultivation of all the great agricultural staples of the South, from which we derive our wealth at home, and our chief influence abroad ; and as the necessary consequence of this, the poverty, ruin and distress of our families.

4th.—The loss of fifteen hundred millions of our capital, in the loss of property in our slaves, and in the labour which are derived from them.

5th.—The depreciation of other fifteen hundred millions of our capital in land, which would become comparatively valueless after our *labour* capital was destroyed ; and

6th.—Our political annihilation among the nations of the earth ; and the blighting contempt with which we should be spit upon by all mankind ; as the fitting recompence for that people, who could submit to such degradation, and consent still to live !!

The real danger with which we are threatened, having been ascertained, and some of its consequences briefly pointed out, we now proceed to a consideration of the measures by which our enemies should be resisted, and that danger averted. And here we will adopt the idea which we have before used to illustrate our subject, and say, that as the measures which have, from time to time been urged upon Congress, by the anti-slavery party, should each and every one of them, be viewed as *parts* of one *general system* of measures,—the object and intention of which is, to abolish slavery in the States ;—so each

one of them should be regarded as assailing one of the *outposts* which guards our citadel ; and that the loss of any one of them to us, strengthens and encourages our enemies ; weakens and discourages us ; and renders us less able to defend our citadel, when the great struggle shall arise, (as come it must, sooner or later,) which is to decide for us the question, whether we are to live and not die. Each of those aggressions should then be encountered with resolute hostility, as involving the final issue ; and without reference to its own intrinsic offensiveness, which, perhaps, standing alone, may be unimportant in itself.

This being premised, I will now go on to add, that the plan of action which it seems to me proper for the South to pursue, is, in the first place, taking no council from fear, to consider calmly and deliberately their position with a view to decide *what are their rights* : and after they have *decided*, what these are, then resolutely to insist upon them, and *immoveably maintain them*. Forewarned, as we have been of their intentions, we should be forearmed to meet and counteract them. Upon a question of this grave nature, which involves our political life or death, no *concession is allowable*, which *increases the strength of our enemies, and diminishes our ability to resist them*. Any Delilah "compromise" then, whether offered by some half Southern man, and supported by whole Northern "friends," so called, if it shears us of even one lock of our strength, is not for a moment to be listened to. We must stand upon our RIGHTS in their entirety ;—have them ; or prepare for the consequences.

The consequences ! what are they ? Some timid one may say, "it may lead to disunion or civil war !" Not properly, nor rightfully ; certainly not necessarily ; except our enemies would afford us the proof, that we have remained already too long in the Union ; and they would now use force to keep us there, to plunder or degrade us. But we will examine this presently.

Some one else may ask, "why not settle the difficulty by *compromise* ; and let us have a lasting quiet." We will examine this now.

We might not be unwilling, to bring to the altar of peace, some of our rights, and offer them as a sacrifice, on our part, for the happiness of our country ; *if* we could be assured, that by this means, peace, a *lasting peace*, was to be secured, and the question settled now, and forever. But "compromise," implies mutual concessions ;—the giving up of admitted rights, equally by both parties. To be permanent, it requires that the parties making it, should themselves be permanent, and can bind their successors ; and that each intends to act with good faith towards the other.

Viewed in this light, every element is wanting, in this case, towards a proper compromise. The North concedes to us, no

right on her part ; whilst we are required to give up those,—the yielding up of which, will be felt to their woe, by our latest posterity. We enter too, into a compromise, with a party now, who, if they intend to deal honestly by us, at the ratification, may next year, in the varying fluctuations of political life, be placed beyond the ability to keep their engagements : or, what is more probable, may be recognized, as traitors in the ranks of our enemies,—sucked in, within the whirlpool of abolitionism, and for the sake of its rewards, making no efforts to extricate themselves, or keep their plighted faith.

Besides, the materials, of which the anti-slavery party at the North is composed, are of such qualities, that it renders the idea of any permanent compromise with them, utterly preposterous. No concessions, short of the total, and perhaps immediate abolition of slavery, will, or can, ever *satisfy* them :—and especially such concessions, as we shall make ; since they will suppose, that they are extorted from our *fears* ; which will only encourage their audacity, to demand more, and greater.

Of this every one will be satisfied, who considers carefully the *materials* of which that party is made up. What are they ? Fanatics in religion ; fanatics in politics ; the ravening demagogue, hunting after office, and the spoils of party. And when, from the beginning of time, to the present hour, have *such* men been satisfied with concessions, which have been yielded to their veracity, or been extorted from the supposed fears of their victims.

The religious fanatic, who believes contrary to the teachings of scripture, that slavery is a sin, and a crime against God and man ; and who sets up his own crude notions about religion and morality, as the standard for other men, and by which he impiously tries even the revelation of the all wise God himself :—what concession can satisfy such a man, except the entire obliteration of the sin.

The political fanatic, who professes to be governed by obligations “higher than the Constitution ;” and who, in his sublimated notions about civil society, which never have been, and never can be realized, claims that all men are born free and equal, and have a right to be fed and clothed at the expense of somebody else :—What can satisfy this class,—except raising the slave to an equality with the master, and sharing with him his property ?

The wily, non-committal, hungry demagogue :—the first article of whose creed, is, to *swear by the “majority,”* and to live and die feeding at the public crib :—What compromises will such a man observe, when the stream of popular favour turns against us, and it becomes his interest to desert us ?

Any compromise then, which we may make with the North, governed as it is, and as it is likely ever to be, by such materials

as the anti-slavery party is composed of, must result in nothing else, than the advantage and final triumph of our enemies, and in disaster and ruin to ourselves. And the South cannot be too soon waked up to this truth. The most plausible compromises on this question will prove to us

"Like dead-sea fruits, which tempt the eye,
But turn to ashes on the lips.

The whole history of them, bears testimony to the utter faithlessness, with which they have been observed by the North. The ordinance of '87, although in strictness of definition not a "compromise;" since the North, on its part, gave up no right, or valuable consideration, may yet be considered, as a *bargain*. Virginia by a queenly, (but as the event has turned out) most fatuous generosity, gave up to the exclusive use of the North, a munificent domain of North Western Territory; annexing to the gift but two conditions, the first, that but four States, and no more, should be formed out of it: and second, that fugitive slaves should be delivered up, on demand of their owners. The North greedily accepted the princely gift, subject to the conditions. But what is the fulfilment on their part? Instead of four, they have carved out *five* States, by which to increase their power in the Senate: and instead of delivering up to the South her fugitive slaves, they murder and imprison her citizens, who go there to recover their property.

The Missouri "compromise," so called, (but with what propriety, is not so plain) is the next example, of the worthlessness of all attempts to settle permanently this vexed question, by *concessions*, on the part of the South. In that case, the North gave up nothing, and gained every thing. The South, on her part sacrificed a great principle, and along with it, gave up immensely valuable rights. For what?—for the poor privilege at best, of being *let alone* for a few years. The North claimed what they had no right to ask,—the exclusion of slave-holders, with their slaves from any portion of our territories. For this, which they had no right to, they clamoured, and blustered and threatened: and the South, to their everlasting reproach and dishonour, as well as to their incalculable injury, suffered themselves to be influenced by these things; and yielded a principle which they should have guarded with their life, and advantages which they never can recover.

Amidst this uproar and clamour, which was stirred up by the wrong-doer, the memorable "Missouri compromise," (as it is called) was started by some one, in the fraudulent conspiracy. It offered the latitude of $36^{\circ} 30'$, (which, be it here remembered, is the *Southern* boundary of Virginia and Kentucky, and Missouri,—States, all within latitudes suitable for slave labour,) as

the line of division between the two sections :—slavery to be prohibited to the north of that line, but not be interfered with south of it. In this the North gave up no right or privilege, or advantage which they were entitled to, except the right to bluster and extort ;—whilst the South consented to be excluded from fertile and valuable territory, well suited to her institutions ; and so has greatly diminished her political power. The considerations, for which these advantages were given up, were that the North should *give us peace*, and that upon the basis of that line of latitude, the difficulties should *be settled* then and forever.

Such were the hopes and expectations, held out to us, by the miserable “ Missouri compromise ”—a compromise, especially to be remembered by us, both as a great calamity, as well as a most impressive warning !

The history of Congress furnishes us with the evidence in what manner these justly indulged expectations have been fulfilled ; and how Northern men have kept their plighted faith, on the subject of slavery. Almost from the time of that compromise, up certainly to the present hour, instead of courtesy and peace, we have had insult and violence. The topic of slavery has been thrust in upon the legislation of Congress. without any necessity, and in the most offensive forms. Our institutions have been assailed, our property stolen from us ; our just rights, under the Constitution, denied us, insulting resolutions aimed directly at us, have been passed by Congress itself ; our feelings have been outraged ; and instead of that consideration and respect, which are due to us, as equals, they begin to treat us, with an overbearing arrogance ; which plainly admonishes us, that we are hereafter to be regarded as a *subjugated* people, dependent upon a distant and irresponsible majority, for our dearest rights, and for the privilege even of a political existence. And now in the very wantonness of power, they are about to inflict upon us, the crowning act of their injustice. They demand now, that we shall not only be excluded with our slaves, from all territories, *north* of 36° 30', but from every portion of the public domain south of that line ; and also from a large portion of Texas, which was secured to the South by the solemnity of a treaty. And all this is done, in a manner, and with declarations so offensive, as to make the depth of contempt, and disparagement, to which our donkey passiveness, or (as they may suppose) our *timidity* has sunk us, and as if further, to laugh to scorn, the stupid credulity which has put faith in their promises.

It should be noted here, however, in apology for those few Southern men, who gave their sanction to the “ Missouri compromise,” that they had not then, as we have now, such evidence of the faithlessness of the anti-slavery power in Congress, upon all questions, which affect our Southern institutions. Our ene-

mies, approached us then, as "brethren," and our Southern heart kindling at the appeal, yielded to their exactions, for the purpose of living at peace with them.

But if the leading men of that day beguiled some of our predecessors with enticing words, and then betrayed them with a kiss; we of the present day, should be without apology, and be recreant to posterity, if we shut our eyes to the fact, that we have to deal now with the same Judas, who will again betray us;—if not for the thirty pieces of silver, yet for the honours and spoils of office at home. We cannot now retract our steps, in the Missouri compromise or recall the advantages we then forever parted with. . But now, that another and similar crisis is at hand, we can profit by the experience of the past; and planting ourselves upon our rights, and resolving not to yield another hair's breadth of them to any power on earth, leave to others, the responsibility of pushing us if they dare, from our position.

Our judgments, when enlightened by a careful review of the whole question instructs us; and our experience confirms the important truths. First—That no concessions on the subject of slavery has ever, or can ever satisfy our enemies. 2d.—That the anti-slavery spirit is not only aggressive, but rapidly progressive; and 3d.—that *sooner or later, the battle will have to be fought on the final issue*, viz: whether we shall continue our slavery institutions in the States; or whether the North shall take that matter into their own hands, and regulate it for us, according to their own caprice, and not for our own, but their benefit. The only alternatives for us to indulge a choice in, are, as to the time when? and the manner how? we shall meet the great final issue.

Shall we meet it, and fight the great battle *now*, whilst we have strength, and allies, and the spirit of our people unbroken? or shall we postpone it, a little *later*, by *compromising* and *temporising*; when our enemies shall have multiplied in numbers and increased in power;—when our strength shall have diminished, our allies deserted us, and the spirit of our people crushed and discouraged? These are the alternatives, which we have to choose between!!

But it may be objected to, by some one who is afraid of his own shadow, or perchance of ghosts, the shadows of other imaginary things, and who is afraid to do what is *right*, or what is his *duty*, "because something may happen." "If we are to make no concessions on the subject of slavery,—if we are to allow of no compromise, what then? How is the question to be settled, except by disunion, or civil war?"

Now it is freely admitted that if they who have the power to do us justice, refuse to do so, and prefer to drive us over the precipice, that we must either *submit* to their encroachments,

with all the fearful and degrading consequences, which I have but only glanced at, or encounter the alternate consequences of disunion, or, perchance, of civil war. If either of the latter alternatives are pressed upon us; we, at least, shall not be responsible for the consequences; and we shall have the advantage of appearing before mankind in the attitude of men who are contending not only for their just rights, but for rights which are indispensable for their political existence.

But as States, as well as individuals, men should take no important step without deliberating upon the consequences of the act, it becomes the South to examine well, what will be the effect upon their destiny of disunion or civil war. And first of disunion.

In order to understand the abundant resources of the Southern States, towards becoming a great, powerful and independent nation, capable of protecting herself from all aggression from abroad, or at home; and of becoming wealthy and prosperous to a degree heretofore seldom enjoyed by any people. Examine first, the map of the United States, and then indulge in certain considerations, which obviously present themselves, but which the occasion will allow us, only very briefly to glance at.

Beginning at the Capes of the Delaware, go up that bay until we reach the southern boundary of Pennsylvania. Pursue that boundary west, to the Ohio river; then down that river to its junction with the Mississippi; then up that river to the northern boundary of the State of Missouri; then around the northern and the western boundary of that State to the line of $36^{\circ} 30'$; thence west on that line to the Pacific Ocean. Or, if it be preferred, until it strikes the upper waters of the Rio Grande; then down that river to the Gulf of Mexico; and thence, around to the Atlantic. Within these boundaries we have "The Southern United States of North America,"—as magnificent a country as ever the sun shone upon;—solid, compact, and self-supporting for all purposes of defence,—with noble rivers, a fertile soil, great mineral resources, a genial climate, for all purposes of agriculture, manufactures, and commerce; and with a population at this time, of about 6,000,000 whites,—a hardy race, enterprising, courageous, intelligent and generous; but unhappily for themselves, too confiding in those who are lulling them into security, to betray and then ruin them. These States also possess a black population of about 3,000,000,—a docile, obedient, orderly, and athletic people:—when let alone, happy, contented, and attached to their owners; and with their labor directed by the superior intelligence of the white race, and aided by their capital, constituting one of the most efficient and profitable classes of labourers in the world.

Examining these States next, in their capabilities to afford sus-

tenance, and wealth to man ; we find them producing a superabundance of meats, and fruits, and grains and roots ; and yielding for a large export, the most valuable agricultural staples that the world knows :—staples which bring millions of people, in other nations, dependant upon them for the raw material ; upon which again depend the manufactures, and the commerce of those nations. The cotton, rice, tobacco, sugar, and other articles exported from those States, amount to over \$95,000,000, annually, besides what are kept back, and used freely for their own comforts, or manufactures at home. This affords, not only a very large income to the inhabitants ; but as imports are in proportion to exports ; and the revenue of a nation in proportion to its imports, it will afford at a moderate tariff of duties, an overflowing treasury, which will enable the Southern United States to do, (what has heretofore been denied them,) and that is, by expending within themselves, and for their own benefit, those immense sums which have been hitherto extorted from them, and squandered elsewhere, amply to fortify themselves, and develop their own mighty, but dormant resources. How different will be the aspect of things in the whole South, when this tide of wealth is dammed up within our own borders, and made to roll back among our own people ; and when our immense capital is employed by our own merchants in establishing a direct trade, between our own Southern ports, and our customers all over the world. Then every vulnerable point will be protected by an ample fortification ; then every suitable harbour will have its well appointed dock-yard, and our navy will soon rank with the proudest. Then every river, harbour, channel, or bank will be surveyed and mapped out for the security of our commerce. Then, *when we have our own*, and it is *spent among ourselves*, will the unaccustomed nourishment be diffused through the whole system, and its vivifying influence be felt in every pore. The arts will revive, manufactures will spring up around us ; our agriculture will rear its drooping head, our commerce will expand ; mechanic labour, meeting with ample rewards, will pour in upon us, and emigration, no longer discouraged by the uninviting aspect of our country, will flock to our shores. And then, as the consequence of all these things, will we exhibit to mankind, a refutation of the calumny of our enemies, which attributes the impoverished condition of things at the South, to the institution of slavery among us, and not rather to the systematic robbery of our National Legislature, (where we are in a hopeless minority,) by which the immense revenues drawn annually from Southern labour, is disbursed almost entire at the North, for the encouragement of the labour of that section.

Considered then, in all the consequences of a peaceable separation of the two sections, (and there is no justifiable reason

why it should not be peaceable,)—the Southern United States would be immeasurably gainers by disunion. We will now consider what would likely be the result, if another new, and anomalous condition be attempted to be imposed upon us, with which, in the arrogance of power, we have sometimes been threatened; and that is the *brotherly violence of musketry and cannon, to force us to continue* in the fraternal embrace of the Union.

What then, are our capabilities to meet the issue, if our enemies force upon us the alternative of a "civil war," as it is called; although in no particular, in which civil wars become so much to be dreaded, will this be one. It will be a war between two distinctly marked sections, on opposite sides of a well defined line: between a nation on the one side, of Northern States, invading another nation of Southern States, waiting with all their mighty resources of men and revenue, to meet the attack; and with the concentrated energy of a righteous indignation to drive it back. And who that considers these immense resources, can for a moment doubt the issue. The Southern United States could bring into the field, if necessary, 1,200,000 men, capable of bearing arms: and with duties at a war-scale, might have an annual revenue of \$50,000,000: which (as the civil war so called, would be one of *defence*;) would be spent almost entirely among our own people at home, and would therefore be but little felt as a burden.

Besides, it would be the policy of all the great maritime commercial and manufacturing nations of the world, to take sides with the South. Since the Northern States, in all their pursuits, are their rivals; whilst the Southern United States, by their employments, and the rich staples of our agriculture, would be their natural allies. By our cotton, hemp, tobacco, sugar, and other staple productions of our soil, we supply the raw material; upon which depends some of the most extensive of their manufactures; and which form the basis, of their most profitable commerce, and by taking away the *tonnage duties*, which now discriminate in favour of our Northern oppressors, and giving to our customers in Europe the profits of carrying our bulky staples, we bind their navigating interest strongly in our favour.

Separated, then, from our Northern "brethren," our Southern United States, would become a valuable customer to all the civilized nations of the world;—one to be conciliated and cherished, rather than to be insulted and injured. And when our favours are made to depend upon the civility, good offices, and national courtesy, which might be extended to us, by other nations; there is no people who would be so forward to bid for our custom, on our own terms, as those very States, who, because they think they now have the *right* to those favours, receive

them without gratitude, and add insult and injury to us, whilst they enjoy them.

The Southern United States need be under no apprehension, for any amount of *revenue* which they may require, for any purpose of peace, or war. The willingness to lend is always measured by the ability to pay. If they be only true to themselves; if they exhibit to the world, that which they undoubtedly possess,—and that is their entire ability to protect and defend themselves from all aggression from abroad, or at home, and to maintain *a vigorous political independence*, they will possess the key, through the rich productions of their soil, by which to open the coffers of every capitalist in Europe; and even of the Northern states of this continent.

In *men* and *revenue*, our resources would be ample, for any emergency; and in the *good will of the nations*, these advantages are increased. But when, in a conflict, such as we are considering, all our other advantages are examined, our triumph becomes certain, our enemies would be the invaders; and would therefore require double the amount of revenue, to carry on their war of aggression. We would be the defenders with all the advantages of position; in a compact territory; with each part giving support to all other parts; and with our resources around, and about us. Our enemies could never be united in such a warfare, even if they could raise the immense revenue, which it would require to conduct it: whilst the heart of the South would be in their cause, and they would be united as one man. The North may send upon us a horde of fanatics and desperadoes, to rob and to plunder; or to force us back, into a Union, which has become odious to us, by the insults and injustice which we have suffered under it. But they will meet upon our borders, an array of bolder and more resolute men;—standing around their families and their property; and in defence of their honour and their rights, ready and able to drive back the vile aggressors, with ignominy and defeat. That will be an evil day to our enemies, when they shall spill the first drop of a Southern man's blood, who is standing up in defence of such a cause. The very stones will cry aloud at such an outrage upon our soil. Even our women will forget their sex, in defence of their injured country; whilst the just indignation which will swell the hearts of all that is called "man," or claims to be *man*, throughout the wide borders of the whole South, will impart a tenfold energy to their arms, in striking deep, into the hearts of their enemies.

It is not forgotten in this place, that the chief instrument, which our humane and christian enemies calculate to employ against us, in operating our destruction, is, to excite an insurrection among our slaves; and thus in their benevolent crusade in favour of the blacks, to inflict upon the white race, the united

horrors, of a servile and a civil war. 'This is the most cherished scheme of these pious "philanthropists;" by which they hope to terrify us, into a submission to their preposterous and insulting demands, and it has not been without some effect. It has frightened many a nervous old woman; and not a few Northern men, who have settled amongst us, in our cities; but who are entirely ignorant of the kindly feelings, which generally exist, between the slaveholder and his people. But the scheme will be found to be as abortive, in practice, as it is demoniacal in conception: and can never succeed, except upon the supposition of a supineness on the part of the people of the South, which would amount to insanity;—in allowing our enemies to mingle freely with our slaves, and pervert their feelings by falsehoods, misrepresentations and delusive hopes. To the native slaveholder however, who, with his people, has been reared in the same neighbourhood, or perhaps upon the same plantation;—who witnesses, on the one side, their feelings of respect and strong attachment towards him; and on the other, realizes to himself, the kindly feelings, which he indulges towards them,—this notable scheme of our enemies carries with it, no very alarming forebodings. His every day experience and observation convince him that the efforts of our enemies must be both active, uninterrupted and long continued, to extirpate that *loyalty* of his slaves,—which is stronger than a habit, and forms a part of their very nature: and so far from indulging in supineness, in a matter of that nature, it may be assumed as a fact, which will be true without an exception, that no emissary of insurrection will ever be able to travel through our country, whose very movement will not be watched and noted; until becoming entangled in his own snares, he shall meet the doom, which an enraged people have ready for such miscreants. It is only in times of profound peace and public security; when suspicion is asleep, that an emissary may *crawl* his way into some obscure neighbourhood, and by his serpent arts, pollute our slaves, and excite an insurrection. But such out-breaks must ever be very limited in their extent, and will be as easily put down, as any of the mobs which occur in the free-soil States. In times of threatened invasion, or open war during the stir and activity of military preparation, when the slaveholder is waked up to his danger, and has his arms in his hands, no insurrection of any extent is ever, likely to break out, and much less to succeed. Of this, very man who has resided long at the South, will be convinced, who duly reflects on the subject, and should the occasion ever arise, when it may become the South to tax all her energies, to maintain her political existence, or defend her rights or honour; we might, if it were deemed necessary, send into the field a million of men to meet the invader, without detracting scarcely a labourer from our agriculture,

besides leaving 200,000 men, at but little expense to the government, to act as a vigilant *police*, in keeping quiet any of our slaves who may be *made* disaffected. An active police of a fourth of that number, properly directed and distributed over the South, would keep in order every disaffected slave, and effectively secure us from a servile insurrection.

This favourite scheme, then, of our humane and christian enemies, will be found barren of the results which they anticipate ; but will recoil upon them in a manner in which they least expect. The deluded slave, whose mind has been poisoned by the falsehoods and wicked arts of the abolitionists, and has been tempted to raise his irreverent arm against the life of his master, will be found stricken down to the earth ; whilst the diabolical agent of his ruin, the enemy alike of master and slave, will be found dangling from our loftiest trees, expiating his crimes after the manner of Haman of old.

It will thus be perceived : First. That in the rich and varied resources which the "Southern United States," so abundantly possess in revenue, and in men, we have all the elements necessary for constituting us a great, flourishing and independent nation. Second, That the bugbear, disunion, or separation from the free-soil (or more properly Pharisaical,) States, would contribute greatly to our prosperity and happiness, and finally to our lasting peace ; and Third. That the dangers of a civil and servile war, should cause no well-grounded apprehension about the result, when the mighty array of means are considered, which we have for resistance and self-defence.

Now, these positions will be greatly strengthened, if we consider, 1st, In contrast with ours, the means and resources of the power which it is supposed might have the temerity to attack us : and 2nd, The direful effects upon them, which disunion or a separation from us would entail. This is better understood by the reflecting and sagacious men among them, than it appears to be by us ; and hence the Epithalamiums which they are constantly chanting in praise of the "Union," the "Union ;" in the hope of keeping us in good humor with it. And hence the threats of violence and coercion, which they throw out to intimidate us, to remain passive, within its fatal embraces.

In the union of States, in which we find ourselves now associated, the free soil, or "Pharisee" States, are the merchants, the manufactures, and the shippers of the family : whilst the Southern States may be regarded, by way of distinction, as the agriculturists of the family. They *manufacture* for us, and by the aid of the bounties which they derive in the form of revenue duties, they shut us up from other customers, and bring us *tributary* to them, in a heavy amount, for their *manufactures*. They are the *carriers* of the extensive and bulky products of our

agriculture; and by the bounties which they enjoy in the form of tonnage duties, we are shut up from other customers, and are again brought under heavy tribute to them for *freights*. By the combined operation of these two causes, (and of some others which might be named, if necessary,) they get possession of the largest portion of our agricultural products; which in the form of remittances in payment for imports, invests them with a large amount of our capital, upon the basis of which they carry on their extensive and lucrative commerce,—a commerce which brings us tributary to them again, to the full extent of the difference at which they sell our exports abroad, and what they make us pay for the imports at home.

In these several relations, the Southern States stand to the free-soil, or "Pharisee" States, as *colonies* to a parent and dominant country,—not allowed to employ the agents who will do their work without bounty, and at the least expense to them; nor to buy from those customers, who will sell cheapest;—but compelled to confine their business only to certain agents, who decide without competition upon the rates we have to pay them; and to buy from them pretty much at their own prices.

It is precisely, too, in these relations that these Free-Soil or Pharisee States become the objects of rivalry and jealousy, to all the commercial, manufacturing and navigating countries of the world. Both are manufacturers; both are carriers; both are merchants, seeking foreign markets for their goods; and hence the jostlings and jealousy which is likely to spring up between them. The custom then, of a people like the "Southern United States," which has from 95 to 100,000,000 worth of exports to dispose of, must be of the highest importance to every nation, which has ships to carry these exports; manufactures to exchange for them, and a large commerce to expand by them. The alliance then, between nations of such different pursuits and characters, becomes strong and natural; since in the monopoly of that kind of custom, every commercial and manufacturing nation must chiefly depend for their wealth and prosperity. It is the habit with many to suppose that nations without slaves are *ipso facto*, more flourishing than those that have them. But of all delusive notions, this is one of the most erroneous. Spain, Italy, Germany, France, Russia, or other "free States" so called, are not more flourishing than our Southern States, with all the exactions which are made upon our labour. England is indebted for her immense wealth and remarkable prosperity to the monopoly of the profits, and the trade of her extensive colonies, and especially of India, which she has sucked dry of all those enormous treasures, for which she was, for a long time, (but not now,) a proverb among the nations. And in like manner, the Pharisee States of this Union have become comparatively rich

and flourishing, by the operation and policy of certain national laws which leave the Southern States in the relation of *tributary colonies* to them. Let England be shorn of her colonies, and with all her cant, and boasting, about the absence of slavery within her limits, what would she become! And let the free-soil, or Pharisee States be separated from the "publicans and sinners" of the slave-holding States; and what will be their condition in five years? We will stop for a moment briefly to answer.

Owing to the operation of certain laws of the Federal Government, as we have just said, those States have now the *entire monopoly* of the Southern market for a large amount of the articles which they manufacture, and upon which hundreds of thousands of their citizens depend for their support. They enjoy, also, *bounties* upon another large class of their manufactures, upon which millions more of their citizens depend, and which bounties secure to them great advantages over their foreign rivals, in our Southern markets. These bounties, in the form of revenue duties, are so high as to exclude foreign nations from competing with these Northern States for our custom, in many articles; whilst in all other articles they enjoy an advantage over their foreign rivals equivalent to their receiving a *present* from the Federal Government of from fifteen to thirty-five dollars upon every hundred dollars worth of goods which they manufacture, and sell at the South. To estimate properly the immense importance of these advantages to the Northern States, it must be borne in mind, that this customer is no insignificant one; but numbers now perhaps, by the present census, *nine millions of population*, and that manufacturing at present little among themselves; they are almost entirely buyers, and not sellers of those articles, which the Northern States and foreign nations send to them.

Now, these things being premised, let any man ask himself, what would be the effect, if these bounties of the Federal Government were taken away; and not only taken away, but the burden of an impost duty, added to the cost of manufacturing. The separation of the Southern from the Northern States, would render it necessary for us to have a revenue of our own, which on a peace establishment, may be assumed to be about 20 per cent at an average. We will also assume that the average amount of bounty which the Northern manufacturers now receive, under our present revenue laws, is also 20 per cent. It is in reality, much more. The account then, will stand thus. *In* the Union, they have a *present* now made them of \$20, for every hundred dollars worth of goods which they manufacture; which adds just so much to the profits of their labour. Separated from us, they lose first, this government present of 20 per cent; and

have, secondly, to add to the loss, 20 per cent more, in the form of a revenue duty to be paid to the Southern United States :—making a difference to them, in the profits of their industry, of 40 per cent. Can any sane man believe for a moment, that manufactures which are now fostered by bounties of 20 per cent, and as their advocates tell us, scarcely thrive at that, can exist for a year, when 40, or even 20 per cent of their profits are abstracted from them? It would be absurd to suppose so.

It may be confidently assumed then, that the separation of the Northern States from us, which would be followed by this loss of their present bounties, and the addition of new burdens on their labour, would bankrupt almost every manufacturing establishment at the North; and would throw out of employment hundreds of thousands of their citizens, who would have to throng into other departments of their industry to seek a livelihood. But what other department of their industry, would be in a better condition, or could receive them? Certainly not their agricultural, which cannot compete now with the South and West, in any article which they can grow to a profit. Not their navigation interest, for under the state of things which we are supposing, the tonnage bounties being taken from them, and duties of our own burdened upon them instead, and our freights being given to our foreign customers, or perhaps only a small share given to Northern ship-owners,—their navigation interest would dwindle, and their sailors would have to seek employment elsewhere. Their commercial department could not receive them: Since, exporting our agricultural products in the vessels of our foreign customers, and establishing a direct trade between our own ports, and those countries, we not only shall have no need for Northern merchants, to do our business, but being deprived of the immense capital, which they now have the use of, in exporting so large a portion of our rich agricultural staples, they would be deprived of the chief support, upon which their foreign commerce is now kept so prosperous, and without which it must droop on, in a feeble and sickly existence.

Every department of Northern industry being doomed to heavy injury, diminishment and decay, by this withdrawal of the bounties which they now enjoy in the Union, and the competition which they will have to encounter out of it, from other nations; and millions of their citizens being thrown out of employment to seek for it elsewhere, but which cannot be found at home;—the first effect of our separation from them, will be incalculable distress among their citizens; and the next, the immigration of their citizens, with their capital to other States, where it can be made to be more profitable. The "Southern United States" will offer the strongest temptations to them for such immigration and investment of capital. It will be necessary only to cross over

the line, and settle within her borders, to renew the privileges which they formerly enjoyed under the old Union:—and who doubts, but that it will be eagerly embraced, and thousands abstracted from the population, and millions from the capital of the North.

But it is not merely in the wide spread injury which will be inflicted upon every department of industry at the North, that the effects of a separation from us will be felt by their citizens. We are infinitely profitable to them in another way. We are the *tax payers*; whilst they are the tax receivers, and *tax spenders*. They have contrived by adroit management, and through their majority in Congress, to collect large revenues, which are drawn chiefly from our Southern labour; and after the treasury has been filled, they have not been wanting in pretexts, some of them the most flimsy and unconstitutional, to empty it into the laps of their own citizens to enrich them, or appropriate it for public works within their own limits, to benefit their own section. The domestic exports of the United States in 1848, (the latest year of which I have a return by me) were within a trifle of \$133,000,000: of which the share of the Southern States was about 95,000,000, leaving the balance of 28,000,000 as the share of the Northern States. These brought us a return of \$155,000,000 of imports:—of which the share of the South would be about 110,000,000, and that of the North about 45,000,000. Now, supposing, that all of these imports pay duties, (which is now the case,) at an average of 20 per cent, (which is less than is really exacted,) the Southern States pay 22,000,000 towards the annual revenue of the General Government, whilst the North contributes but 9,000,000.

But how stands the account of the *disbursement* of these 31,000,000 of revenue? Are the 22,000,000 which are taken from the labour of the South expended at the South, to enrich her citizens and improve her section: and only the 9,000,000 which are contributed by the North spent among her people? Far, very far, is this from being the case. We have not within our reach the documents which are necessary to exhibit this point; but we see, and feel, and know that *harsh injustice* is done us in this matter. It has been asserted, on good authority, that seven-ninths of the income of the General Government is spent at the North; and but two-ninths at the South. According to this estimate, whilst the Southern States contribute of the 31,000,000, 22,000,000, they receive back, to be spent among their people, but 6,900,000: and whilst the North contributes but 9,000,000 to that fund, they contrive so to divert the current of expenditure out of its natural channels, as to spend the enormous amount of 24,100,000 among her own people, which is 15,000,000 annually *more* than they contribute; and to the same amount, so

much taken from the profits of our industry, to enrich their own citizens and section. This is equally true of the revenue also, from the sale of our public lands, and all other sources of our public income, amounting to nearly 4,000,000 more, which swells the amount disbursed among the free-soil States to nearly 28,000,000, whilst the sums expended at the South are less than 8,000,000.

In estimating then, the value of the Union to them, as it has no doubt often been cyphered out in the true "clockmaker" style by the "Sam Slicks" of the North, it has without doubt been ascertained, and credited in their "bank-book," as being worth to them, in hard dollars, at least eighteen millions of dollars annually, in clear gain, and free of all expenses. Hence the tender affection,—the reverential regard, which they pretend to feel, and express for the "Union :—" and hence the abhorrence which they express at the thought of separation from their beloved "brethren" at the South, and the denunciation of those who breathe the word "disunion" as a thing, that is possible. But the South begins at length to understand the sincerity of these professions of veneration for the Union ;—"and the disinterestedness of their indignation, at those who would dissolve it ; and especially, when they threaten to hold us in their embraces, by main force, and with all the violence of musketry and cannon, if need be. We viewed it as the old trick of Demetrius and his confederate "silversmiths at Ephesus" who made silver shrines for the goddess Diana. This employment "brought no small gain to the craftsmen," we are told : but the great Apostle, in preaching against idolatry, disturbed the rookery. And then loud and long, did they lift up their voices, in honour of "great Diana" of the Ephesians; until doubtless, the simple ones of the town, believed these to be sincere and devoted worshippers of the goddess. But these worthies cracked their throats in honour of the "great Diana," and would have murdered the messenger of God,—not because they cared an *assarium* for the daughter of Jupiter, but because, as inspiration tells us, "their craft was in danger :—" and the Apostle in the performance of his high duties, had attempted to put an end to its iniquities. Just so, is it with those, who employ themselves in bepraising the "Union," as a glorious Union," and so forth ; and who denounce as "traitors" those who question its advantages, conducted as it has been for years past ; and who would *bring it back to its original principles of equality and justice ; or dissolve it*. They feel that in separating from the South, "their craft is in danger." They are in danger of losing, not merely the bounties which gave life to their manufactures, their shipping and their commerce ; but the good round sum of \$18,000,000 annually, which is taken from the pockets of the Southern planters to be transferred, by a sort of legislative leger-

demean, into their own pockets, to enrich themselves and give prosperity to their sections. Deprived by disunion, of this annual and refreshing supply, they must either permit the hundreds of thousands of their citizens who are now nourished by those expenditures, to sink down in suffering, and the public works upon which they are squandered to go to decay; or they must raise the amount by taxes, upon themselves. But how raise them? They appropriate to themselves, out of the public treasury, not only the nine millions of their own, but eighteen millions and more, contributed by the South:—making their share of the expenditures, over 27000,000 of dollars. Now it has been seen that their share of the imports amount only to about 45,000,000: upon which it would require, a duty of 60 *per cent*, to raise the 27,000,000 of revenue, which they are now accustomed to spend. But as no commerce could bear for any length of time, a burden of 60 per cent, then the resort would have to be, to *direct taxes*:—which it is very doubtful, whether a population like that in the Northern States would submit to.

It may be assumed then, as a thing that is certain, that that amount of revenue could not, (except by borrowing,) be supplied for purposes of either war, or peace: and that all the interests and projects, which are now fostered by that expenditure, will be suffered to languish and decay.

In every point of examination then, it will appear, that the dissolution of the Union, will be followed by infinite distress and disaster to the North; and with comparatively little to the South. Let every Southern man then firmly persuade himself of this fact; that the Union is of vastly more value to them, than it is to us; and that it is for *them*, and *not for us*, to make *sacrifices and concessions* to maintain it.

As long as the principles of the Constitution are faithfully observed, and the Union made to promote the purposes, for which it was formed, it becomes our duty to support it. It is true, that conducted at its best, it is likely through all the fiscal operations of the Federal Government, to be a hard bargain for us. But when honourable men have solemnly joined hands over a contract, it is not for one party to deny their obligations, because in a matter of dollars and cents, the other may have the advantage. The South then, it may be confidently asserted, would never have disturbed the Union, or calculated its value, had she not been wounded in some of her tenderest points;—points, which touch her honour, and peril her existence. Her just rights have been invaded, or denied her. Her feelings are outraged by daily insults to our Representatives in the common council halls of the nation; and they use every effort to degrade us, by insulting resolutions directed against us, and our institutions. They not only do this, in the most aggravated form, but in their arrogance

of power, on the most unnecessary occasions. They press the "Wilmot proviso," not only over territory, where slavery never would have been carried; but they appear to regard the act of a territory, which excludes the slave-holder with his slaves, as in itself so meritorious, that they have just forced California into the Union, against every requirement of sound policy, against all sound precedent, and contrary to the truest principles of the Constitution. They exclude us not only from Territory, which is our own, equally as it is theirs, but is unsuited to our institutions;—but they now attempt to deprive us of broad lands, which are well suited to us;—which have been conquered by our valour, and won by our treasure and our blood; and are in *this* respect, more our own, than it is theirs. And whilst they do this to us, who have a just right to those lands, as our *property*; to us, whom they profess to call "brethren" and who have a claim upon them as such,—they have, as if in utter contempt of us, our feelings, and our interests, offered to *give away*, to squander, to *lavish*, those lands, upon every vagrant, or pauper, or vagabond emigrant, who may be enticed from the rest of the world, to come and settle upon them!! These are the injuries and insults, which have sunk deep into the Southern heart, and made every man in the retirement of his plantation, calculate the value of a Union, with such men, as perpetrate such enormities. And when is superadded to all these things, the evidence which is before us, that they are steadily advancing upon us, with deadly hostility, to *destroy our institutions*, and that they claim the right to meddle with us, *because we belong to the Union*;—then it becomes the South resolutely to take the position which the emergency requires; demand a redress of their grievances; and ample security for their rights, now and hereafter.

And here comes up the question, to obtain an answer to which the citizens of St. John's Colleton, have sought to obtain the sentiments of their candidates;—"What does it become the South to do, under the circumstances of their case?"

Actively and efficiently the South *can do nothing*, to redress her wrongs; *as long as she remains in the Union*. She is in a minority, a hopeless minority in the House of Representatives; and now, since California is admitted, the equilibrium is destroyed in the Senate; and we are in a hopeless minority there also. The South must therefore depend hereafter, upon the *forbearance* and *justice* of this majority, for carrying out any measure, which may be necessary for her well-being; and the *kind* of justice which she may expect in future may be judged of, by the specimens which the North is now preparing for us within her own borders, and by that which we have just witnessed in the admission of California. Nor is there any mode by which we can reach, or change those majorities; since they are responsi-

ble not to us, but to remote and hostile constituencies. It may be justly apprehended too, that as the North becomes stronger, and more influential, the traitors to the South will become more numerous among *her public men*; and the breed of the Badgers and the Bentons, the Bells, the Houstons, and the Footes, will fearfully multiply among us. With the strong arm of power, the treasures and the offices of the nation will be seized upon by the North, and we shall be betrayed and weakened, by desertion from our ranks, through the *bribes* which shall be held out to the ambitious, or the needy.

If then, we may expect no justice from the North:—if we be powerless to do ourselves justice; and if all the indications at present, and for the future, admonish us, that we shall become less and less able to protect ourselves, as long as we continue members of the Union, then a measure presents itself for the adoption of the South, which brings up one of the most solemn questions which can occupy the heads and the hearts of the American people;—and that measure is, the *dissolution of the Union*.

That man must be heady, unreflecting and short sighted indeed, who does not have his mind impressed with profound thoughtfulness and the deepest solemnity, when he contemplates the magnitude of the consequences which might flow from such a measure. Considered in its *possible*, if not its probable consequences, it may involve us in bloody wars; in great sacrifice of property and life; in privations of comforts, and in sufferings of positive evils, which in our past career we have seen nothing the like of. It is beyond controversy then, the gravest question which has occupied the American mind, before or since the adoption of our present constitution. Then, certain sovereign States divested themselves of certain high attributes of sovereignty, in order to grant to a common agent, certain powers to be used for the common and equal benefit of each and every of the united parties. Now, some of those parties are about to take back the powers which they had surrendered, and which have been used, not for their benefit, but abused for purposes of the grossest insult, injustice and oppression. Then, they formed a union for mutual benefit, and as they hoped, for all time; now that union having been perverted from its original design, is to be dissolved, in order that one of the parties may not be destroyed. Can any reflecting man suppose, that this is a light and easy thing to be accomplished; or that it should be done except for great cause, or from some imperious necessity. If there be any who thus think, I confess I am not one of them; but on the contrary, have approached this whole subject, with my mind solemnized by the weighty responsibility which attaches to the expression of my opinions. But, there are evils, so *stupen-*

dous, that to avoid them, no perils or hardships should be considered too great to be encountered. After what I have before said, I need not here add, that I consider the Southern States, as overshadowed at this time by *such evils* ; and that in their separation from the free-soil States, is their only visible hope, against pecuniary ruin, and in the end, against political annihilation. It may be laid down too, as a proposition indisputably true, that the man who falters through *fear of the consequences* from adopting any measure (be it disunion itself.) which his judgment may approve to be *proper*; or who makes concessions on this question, as from a weaker to the stronger power,—that that man has already made up his mind to give up his slave property, and betray the South when the day of trial shall arrive !

But it may be asked, *can* nothing, *will* nothing be done, to avert from this great nation so momentous a necessity, as a separation of the Southern from the free-soil States. We have seen that whatever is done towards that end, must be effected by the North,—who having the majority, has alone the power to do it. Now, to judge of the probability of this being done, let us inquire what the South has a right, in strict justice, to demand.

We have a right to demand, that the arrogances and insults should *cease*, which are now so frequently offered to us, through our representatives in Congress ; and that instead thereof, we should receive that comity which belongs to us, as sovereign States, and that respect for our interests, which the Constitution contemplates. And as a means to this end, that no interference with slavery in any form, and especially in the forms in which it has been heretofore intruded upon Congress, *shall be permitted, except by our consent*.

We have a right to demand the faithful observance of the Constitution, in having our fugitive slaves delivered up to us, instead of the violence, imprisonments, bloodshed and even murders of our citizens, when attempting to bring them back.

We have a right to demand a *perfect equality* under the Constitution :—an equal share in all the property, which belongs to us as a nation : a right to an *equal share of the public lands* ; if not in the proportion of men and money, which we contributed to conquer them, at least in proportion to our whole population, including whites and slaves.

We have a right to have the equilibrium restored in the Senate between the two sections, which has lately been destroyed by the admission of California into the Union : or, instead of this, *some other guarantee*, by which the South may have ample power to *protect herself* against the anti-slavery aggressions of Congress and the free-soil States.

Is there any one of these demands which the South should abate :—any one which she can give up with safety, and without

which she can expect a durable peace? To my mind there seems to be not one!

But will the North concede to us these just and necessary requirements. I hope that she will. But my expectations are, that she will not, except she become thoroughly persuaded that disunion will be the *inevitable* consequence. Then she will sacrifice something to gain more, and yield us, not only what we demand, but even more, to secure to themselves the present advantages of the Union.

But if she will not, can any one suppose, that two parties can *continue to live together*; one of whom, has so many thorns rankling in the flesh, and so many grievances constantly chafing the spirit? They may be *bound* together, as the conquered to the conqueror; as the enslaved to the inexorable superior. But never can they be *united* in a brotherhood of friendship and contentment. Such a Union is unnatural, and cannot last: and whilst it lasts can bear no fruits, except those of bitterness and poverty!

But how is such a Union to be severed; and upon what terms shall the partnership be terminated? These are questions which open a wide field for careful reflections, and are calculated to tax the sagacity of our wisest statesmen. It is not for a fraction of one of the parties, (as a single State,) to decide for the rest, *what* is to be done, *how* it is to be done, and *when* it ought to be done: But for all the parties similarly interested, to decide for all in all, in united counsel. Each neighbourhood may have its Southern Rights' Association. Each State may have her Southern Rights Organization. But it must be for the Southern States, in a Southern Convention, to decide what the whole South ought to do. Whatever they may do *unitedly*, or with any thing like unanimity, we may rest assured, will be done with safety to ourselves, and without much risk of coercion from the North. In the meantime let South-Carolina respectfully await for her Southern sisters; since she is not likely to suffer wrong or dishonour, by binding up her destiny with theirs.

SEPTEMBER, 1850.